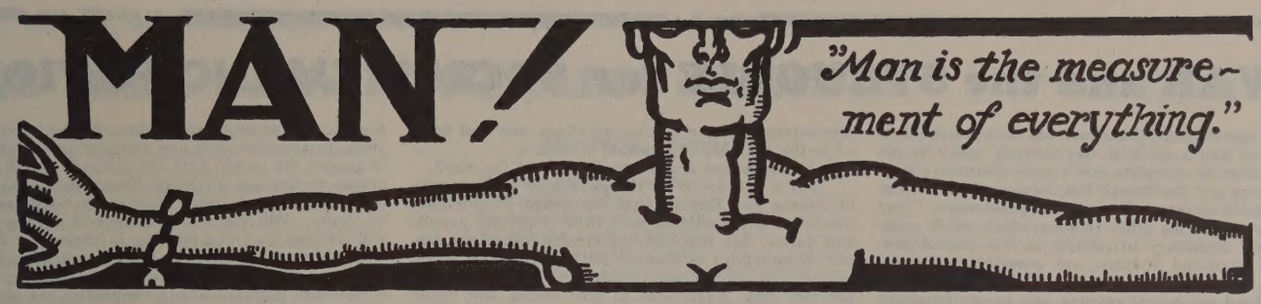
MAN!



"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

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Our Eighth Year

With this issue MAN! begins its eighth year of existence. This fact most likely bears no meaning for the world at large. For us, however—those who have been close to it since its birth and those who have made its existence possible—for us the occasion does carry a deep meaning. It arouses in us a great and deep satisfaction in knowing that we have been able to carry on with our modest voice of Truth—to carry on in spite of all adversity.

The occasion of our eighth anniversary, rather than calling for a celebration, evokes in us a desire to meditate over the path we have trodden. It calls for us to retrospect and see whether we have failed or succeeded in carrying out our aims.

Most of our existence has been hampered and made precarious by the organized cruel persecutions systematically and meaningfully carried on against us by the government of these United States. Our readers are all familiar with the cases of Domenick Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero, who were held for deportation on the charge that they had rented office space to the editor of this journal. Ferrero, who was also charged with having once edited an anarchist publication in the Italian language, was forced to leave the country which he had made his home for almost thirty-five years.

Our readers have doubtlessly followed the case of our editor, Marcus Graham, who has been continually persecuted for the last twenty-one years and whom the government is now trying to deport. The ruthless and inhuman persecutions carried on against Ferrrero, Sallitto and Graham, the intimidations suffered by some of our readers are all part of a sweeping and tense attempt to crush the voice of this journal and make its existence impossible. A persecution such as this journal has endured—in a land vested with the noble principles of freedom of thought, expression, press and assembly—has never before been experienced in the anarchist movement of the world. This fact alone should convince the oppressed mass, if it could and would comprehend its significance, that the institution of government is the most formidable enemy of freedom.

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In all our understanding during our existence we have always tried to take an uncompromising attitude and position. This, at times, has caused us to be severe in our criticism and firm in our attitude. This firmness and correctness has sometimes aroused opposition and disagreement within the anarchist movement. Of this we are not ashamed; for this we offer no apologies. Our explanation of this situation is that from its very beginning MAN! has put into practice one of the basic concepts of anarchism: Truthfulness. In this connection, we can say that our only regret is that there should have arisen situations which prompted us to take the position we did take. We have never offered shelter to any force, movement or individual who transgressed from this basic concept, at the same time we gladly gave space to any criticism of our position.

We might add that our uncompromising attitude has won not only the confidence and support of our sincere comrades and readers here and elsewhere but has received the respect of its political enemies—the marxian school.

As to the manner in which MAN! has fulfilled its task as an anarchist journal, this can be best verified by an analysis of the contents of its pages. It is our readers and those who have made possible its existence who are the sole judges of this.

* * *

In extending our fraternal greetings to our comrades and readers, we wish to say that in expressing our gratitude and appreciation for being able to bring you this modest voice, we deem it appropriate to offer you an issue almost entirely devoted to an explanation of various phases of the anarchist philosophy.

The beginning of our eighth year is also the beginning of another year according to the christian calendar. May we hope that during this next twelve-month period we shall be able to greet you regularly—as we have done heretofore.

It is our fondest hope to incorporate most of the material in this issue into a pamphlet entitled: Anarchism—what is it? Again the fulfillment of this hope rests with the readers and supporters of this journal. It is you who must voice your approval by making its publication possible and by giving it wide distribution if and when it is printed. We can hold the type for only a period of four weeks. The immediate response of all who desire to see this project materialized is imperative.

THE RUSSO-FINNISH WAR

The present war in Europe is becoming more and more a complicated and mysterious puzzle even to those who are always ready to follow the dictates of statesmen who are holding the fate of mankind in their clutches. The first shock came when the "revolutionary" marxian government of Russia joined hands with the German Nazi regime. Together these two monsters succeeded in carving Poland to pieces and in dividing the spoils among themselves. And before the world was able to get over this shock, came news of Russia's attack of conquest on Finland. The rulers of Russia lost no time in setting up a puppet marxian government in Finland, and they heralded the "liberation" of the people of little Finland. The battle has been waging, but the Finns have not been "liberated".

Why is it that Russia's announced "liberation" has not as yet come to pass? The answer to this lies in the fact that the very "democratic" governments who, until five months ago, were ready to team up with this same marxian regime in a war crusade against fascism and nazism are today preventing this "liberation".

Finland, a small country in comparison with Russia, from the very beginning fought back Russia's attacks with such an impetus and resistance that it was plainly evident that the "democratic" governments had been supplying her with arms and ammunition long before Russia actually started its war of conquest. Since the beginning of this latest war, the "democracies" have openly been supplying Finland with the means with which to carry on its battle. It is even rumored that Russia's newest partner, Nazi Germany, is very conveniently closing its eyes as aeroplanes bound for Finland roar over Germany. Benito Mussolini, the arch villain of the company, is openly sending arms to Finland while he is calling for a world war against Bolshevism. While this is going on, the Italian government is carrying on business as usual with the government of Russia.

It is in order to recall the role played by both the "democratic" and fascist regimes not excluding Russia, when the people of Spain rose up against a counter-revolution engineerd by Mussolini, Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier and Franco. At that time, the first thing that these "benevolent despots" did was to form the incorrectly named "Non Intervention Committee" made up of representatives of the "democratic", fascist and bolshevik governments. The false and supposed excuse for the formation of this committee was to make of the Spanish war a purely civil war in which foreign elements were to play no part. In order to do this, International Law had to be totally disregarded. And it was. It must not be construed that this was all the "good" work that was accomplished by this committee. Its real infamous aims and purposes were gradually and clearly brought out when it firmly refused to say or do anything about having Germany and Italy supply Franco with arms, men and ammunition.

Today, the same "democracies" are not even thinking of forming another Non Intervention Committee for the purpose of having the world keep out of Finland's battle. On the contrary, the "democracies" are themselves furnishing the Finns with more arms than they are numerically able to use. And the United States, which so emphatically aided Franco by refusing to sell arms to the legitimate government of Spain—let alone the Spanish people—this great democracy of ours has come forward with a loan of ten million dollars to the Finnish government. And Hoover, Landon and similar fighters for the cause of capitalist "justice" are busily engaged in collecting funds for the relief and defense of "poor" Finland.

The gods of derision and hypocrisy are upon us! The democratic and fascist countries alike are today doing what they yesterday so strongly opposed and combatted. Such is the function of government!

We must not fail to bear in mind that it is the very acts of the government of Finland which invites the governments the world over to rally to its defense. In April, 1918, the workers of Finland attempted to carry on a social revolution. The government of Finland, which the world is being asked to recognize as defenders of "democracy, freedom and justice", was at that time responsible for the massacre of 30,000 workers. Since then, Finland has become the camping ground of world capitalism for the spreading of every and any concocted lie which would discredit the very idea which the word REVOLUTION implies.

President Roosevelt's move in sending a "personal" emissary, none other than a steel magnate, to the Roman papacy in an effort to effect world peace bears more significance than is momentarily attached to it. It was only a few months ago that the same pope, with whom Mr. Roosevelt now makes an official alliance, gave his blessings to the Italians who had returned home victorious from their murdering of the people of Spain who fought for freedom. Thus, Mr. Roosevelt's act must be interpreted as a sinister attempt to unite once again Church and State in order to preserve the "status quo" and thereby safeguard and perpetuate the present system of exploitation and rulership—thus postponing the now looming possibility of seeing a disillusioned mankind rise in revolt against every form of social and political slavery.

We emphatically refuse to be taken in by the present acts of duplicity on the part of democratic and fascist governments in behalf of world capitalism. We will never believe, as they are trying to have the world believe, that in defeating Bolshevism they will deliver a death blow to all revolutionary movements.

We do not hesitate to say, too, that we hold no brief or sympathies for the Bolshevik rulers of Russia.

The Russian regime, through its Third Communist International, is appealing to the revolutionary movement of the world to stop the democratic and fascist governments from aiding Finland. But who, we ask, has done more to undermine and destroy the revolutionary spirit of solidarity throughout the world than this same Bolshevik regime and its Third Communist International? Is it really possible that the rulers of Russia and their supporters everywhere do not realize how false their appeal for International Revolutionary Solidarity must sound to all those who are fully aware of the fact that until yesterday the Bolsheviks made common cause with every sort of politician and enemy of real freedom? Has the Bolshevik regime forgotten that it has carried on and is still carrying on business with Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier and Hitler? Last, but not least, do the Bolsheviks think that the self-respecting people of the world are idiots who will accept as matter of fact and swallow the bolshevik's recent union with Nazi Germany?

At no time could the phrase "A plague on both your houses" be as applicable as it is today with the wars engaged in by Hitler and Stalin, Daladier and Chamberlain and the open and secret backers of all.

(Continued on Page Two)

During the course of our existence, we have always encouraged the collaboration of our readers with their original bits of writing. We have also brought forward many new writers who contributed essays, stories and poems, as well as translations of worthy manuscripts from other languages. In this way, our Art and Literature page has regularly appeared in every issue.

During the course of our existence, too, we have tried to reach as many readers as possible. We know that the anarchist movement does not measure its strength or the spreading of its propaganda by the number in its rank. Yet, from time to time we have seen that our work, like our ideal, is international in scope. It recognizes no geographical or racial boundaries. Just as we brought translations from our foreign language contemporary journals, many articles from MAN! were, in turn, translated by these Journals.

In this respect, therefore, we wish to extend our sincere greetings to the various language groups, individuals and collaborators who have, each and all, made our existence possible. It is upon these same sources that we shall rely in the future.

In greeting you all, we say: Onward shall we carry the struggle for Justice and Happiness, Beauty and Freedom—the Anarchist Society.

MAN!

WAR and the STRUGGLE for SOCIAL EMANCIPATION

To say that the European war is imperialistic in its causes and aims is to say a truth which is too synthetic to be complete. Of course, Germany, Russia, France and the British Empire are at war to preserve and increase their territorial possessions. They are also at war for other reasons which, while comparatively secondary in relation to the central problem of territorial conquest, are, nevertheless, important. In fact, for the ruling classes of the warring countries, these secondary reasons are more important than military victory itself.

Before taking their respective countries to war against a foreign enemy, the ruling classes want to feel sure that they can get obedience at home. It is an old maxim of government that foreign policy is always predicated to the internal policy of the state. Therefore, among the secondary—if we may call them so—causes of the present imperialist war we first find those of a political nature.

* * *

In countries ruled by dictatorships, the fortunes of the regime are closely tied to the fortunes of war.

Peoples endure the abuses of dictatorships only under extreme circumstances. The Bolshevik dictatorship established itself in Russia during the exceptional situation created by the counter-revolutionary invasions. In Italy and Germany, the fascist dictatorships grew out of the panic which betook the ruling classes on the face of the threatening social revolution. The diverse origin of these dictatorships, however, does not exclude the identity of their functions. In order to survive they had to perpetuate the extreme circumstances by exaggerating or wholly creating domestic and foreign dangers which could make the continuation of their existence possible. Dictatorships are regimes of war. They must arm physically and morally to wage war; they must wage war to justify armaments and to placate the fanaticism they have created and nurtured. Finnaly, they must win the war to demonstrate their efficiency. A dictator who could not perform prodigies at home and abroad would seem just a man like all others; his despotism would not be tolerated by any people. There is no dictator in Europe who could keep in power without a war: none could survive a military defeat. For the dictatorships, war is a matter of life and death.

The position of constitutional government is different only in degree. Their domestic policy, being socially conservative, has always been one of sympathy with the dictatorships, especially toward the fascist dictatorships to which the governments and the privileged classes of the world have given aid, arms, contributions and have made concessions of all sorts. Without this outside assistance—open or clandestine, according to the necessity of the times—the territorial conquests of fascism and nazism would have been impossible. The assistance of the so-called democratic governments was to be given because the will and the interests of the privileged classes called for it. It was to be given even at the risk of endangering the military security of the State and the Empire—a thing which did not take long to happen.

Made bold and proud by their easy exploits, the dictatorships began to threaten right and left until those threatened began to arm heavily to defend themselves from the aggressors whom they had helped in the previous aggressions of others.

And what are armaments for, if not for war?

For a decade or so, the pro-fascist governments of France and England had succeeded in obtaining obedience and discipline from their respective people, and during this time they paternally helped the fascist dictatorships of Europe and of the world to establish and strengthen themselves. But that could not last long. Regardless of how obtuse and docile the people may be, they have in their midst interests and sentiments which cannot remain inactive and indifferent before the intrigues of privileged classes and groups which consume the most ruinous betrayals in full daylight. The day would necessarily arrive when the governments who had helped the dictators, at least, had to make the gesture of undertaking the defense of the State and the Empire. War, therefore, was a matter of life and death even for the democracies: either resort to war or be defeated—if not by the peoples' revolution, surely by those privileged groups which have an effective interest in the preservation of the national autonomy and the empire's domain.

The economic crisis embodies a second group of the reasons which caused war.

The general exhaustion of the capitalist system of production and distribution—after the brief period of reconstruction which followed the previous war—had paralyzed every national economy in the world. Every country had millions of unemployed, still machinery, idle capital and markets in liquidation. The population could not have been left to starve; relief for the unemployed was inadequate for the satisfaction of the most elementary needs. Governments were making debts and mortgaging the future, but unsatisfied needs caused discontentment which, in turn, suggested and inspired theories and movements which, spurred by the ills of the bleack present, called for a future of abundance and well being for all. Preparations for war and the ruins of war themselves constituted the only road which governments could take—the only one which the ruling classes would permit to be taken in the attempt to get out of the stagnant situation created by an insufficient consumption of products. War preparations and war itself bring work to the workers and bread and butter to their families. And what is more important for the privileged classes, war brings markets for capital, dividends to investors, profits for industry and business and huge cuts for financiers.

In the bankruptcy in which capitalist economy finds itself, war is the only industry really profitable because it is capable of putting labor and capital in motion and of securing a safe market for the unlimited efficiency of modern production. War, therefore, was a matter of life and death also for the capitalist system of economy. People are not going to submit forever to an existence of want and idleness when they can see within their reach an abundance of machinery and raw material more than enough to satisfy their needs. They will realize that it depends only on their will and daring to change their miserable status for one of comfort and abundance. In this respect, war can be considered a substitute for the open and violent repression of social revolution on the part of capitalism and the state.

* * *

The fact that the politicians at the head of the various governments went to war to save their political fortunes and the fact that the ruling classes sanctioned war in order to save their privileges do not necessarily mean that their desires will be satisfied. It only means that capitalists and politicians will try everything to gain their aims.

Thirty months of Spanish war showed how unstable are the foundations on which the present social order lies. It was enough that the Army and the Church raised the fascist banner in Spain for the people to go to the barricades not to defend the Republic but to fight for Social Revolution. The Spanish people were betrayed at home and abroad, and their heroic exploits were not crowned by the success they deserved. Suffering humanity has witnessed these betrayals and deep in its honest heart has preserved love and admiration for the Spanish people and hatred and reproach for those responsible for the Iberian massacre: fascist and democrats alike.

In history, like in physics, nothing gets lost. Defeated Spain has shown the ties between the dictatorships and the democracies—both groups essential parts of the present social order. Now, more than ever before, we, as well as the self-styled democratic governments, all know that whenever and wherever a people is going to revolt against tyranny, following the example of Spain, it is not going to substitute one political clique for another, but it will fight for the establishment of a new social order. It is because of this knowledge that the politicians at the service of French and British imperialism are trying to mask this war as a crusade against Fascism. However, their own policies unmask the hardened politicians. Only fools fall for this kind of demagogy.

The politicians running the so-called democratic governments are using war as an instrument of reaction in order to suppress freedom of speech and of the press, to abrogate civil and constitutional rights and to govern the people with the saber of a military tribunal—to become dictators themselves! Thus, they hope that through years of military discipline, mental decay, wild ferocity and general savagery they will succeed in accomplishing in their own country what they accomplished in those countries ridden by the scourge of dictatorship; that is, get the people accustomed to bearing with resignation the abuses of the powerful, the violence of the club and to forget forever the aspirations of social emancipation which for a century have been burning in the hearts of men.

Once again rulers and exploiters are trying to save their threatened privileges by pushing mankind back to the jungle. We must nail down to the pillory of fraud and falsity the rhetoric of those—traitors and fools—who try to ennoble war in order to make it more acceptable to the people who, on the altar of Mars, must sacrifice freedom, blood and life.

The Russo-Finnish War

(Continued from Page One)

We cannot conceive of any sane person having the least desire or inclination to render any physical or moral assistance to any of the rulerships which are carrying on a massacre of human lives.

We are ready to admit that the picture of the world horizon is black indeed. The capitalist forces, through their governments, are leading, nay misleading mankind into new wars for the perpetuation of their destructive systems of profit and injustice. This, however, should not lead us to despair. The disease known as government, rulership and capitalism, even when it bears the form of a Bolshevik dictatorship, is like almost every disease or plague: it will run its course until it will wear itself out. Like any ravaging plague, the toll of human lives will be great. It seems that this is the only way through which humanity can learn to educate itself and learn not to accept the blind belief of the rule of "saviours".

The time when the plague of rulership will wear itself out is not as far away as some of us may think. The contempt with which the youth of today deride every attempt that is being made to have them believe that the present war is a crusade in behalf of the salvation of "democracy and justice" is the most encouraging sign. No, we need not despair. Our thoughts and criticisms have taken root and have found fertile ground for development. And the day is not distant when governments' calls to war will be ignored and defied EN MASSE, when laws and all means whereby mankind is kept in economic, moral and social servitude will be wiped out.

A revolutionary spirit will ultimately arise. It will be the spirit of the people who will be answering the call of their own conscience which bids them to rise and make themselves free human beings, MEN. It is only toward such a Social Revolution that we shall bend our undying energies.

In France's "Democracy"

Ever since the outbreak of war there is no longer any freedom of thought, speech or press in France for other organizations or persons than those that submit entirely to the government. Every attempt of opposition is ruthlessly suppressed by the military courts whose sentences are without an appeal whatever. The French section of the IWMA, the CGTSR, is not yet dissolved but the difficulties for its activity increase every day. In spite of this, every thing is done to enable it to accomplish its task. The paper of the organization, "Le Combat Syndicaliste", has been compelled to cease, it cannot appear under these circumstances.

Through a governmental decree of September 26th, the relief committee of the IWMA in Paris, the "Comité de solidarité international", has been dissolved; this committee, which was created in order to relieve the victims of the totalitarian oppression exercised by Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and Franco etc., is no longer permitted to continue its activity of relief—an activity which is now more necessary than ever! The decree which has been used to dissolve the committee, aims at dissolving every organization which adheres to the communist international or receives directives from this international.

Nothing is more incorrect than to put the "Comité de solidarité international" in connection with the communist international! The truth is, that those comrades and organizations who stood behind this solidarity committee, never had any connection with the communist international or with the numerous organizations created by the stalinist, so called communist party. Besides, we never accepted any co-operation with the political organizations, but we have on the contrary always fought against them. On no occasion have the militants or adherents of our movement fraternized with political elements. At the time of the popular front, when the present adversaries of the stalinist party still were in fraternal cooperation with the representatives of Moscow, we exposed in public what we already then considered as a deception. We were the first to point out the ambiguous attitude of Stalin when he preached or fained to preach a crusade against fascism, but at the same time cooperated with the totalitarian states.

We have with energy propagated the so-called embargo plan of the IWMA, which recommends to refuse delivery of goods necessary for the production of war materials for the totalitarian states. Briefly: we have always fought the third international and the third international also always fought against us. That is why we cannot acquiesce in being identified with those whom we always considered and always will consider as our worst enemies.

Under these circumstances if it is the wish of the rulers, any trade union association, as well as any philosophical or ideological association and any citizen who is noxious to them will always be accused of belonging to the communist international or charged with standing under its influence. These associations or individuals will be delivered to the military courts without appeal!

In the workshops the workers are also made slaves under the state and the military system. The French department of public works recently issued a so-called "Etat de requis" (law of workers necessary to the State), from which we will quote the following:

"The requis-worker cannot choose his employer. He cannot leave him without official permission. On the contrary the authorities have the right to remove him to another place. A "requis" is ordered to do his work with care and to be at the employer's disposal for the working hours required of him. Especial and severe regulations of punishment are fixed for those duties. The military courts can even be solicited in the most serious cases as for instance: sabotage or acts injurious to the interests of the national defence. But during the work the "requis" is under the authority of the employer and stands under the rules valid in the workshop. As the slackoning of the working tempo can reduce the production of war materials, the employer is entitled ot punish this by deductions on the wages. The fines are transferred to the national solidarity fund."

(IWMA Press Service)

THE IDEA OF A MONEYLESS SOCIETY

Edna Larkin

Now and then, writers will make statements which corroborate the anarchist philosophy. Since, no doubt, such authors have each a certain nucleous of admirers, the reproduction of their statements would largely contribute to do away with the hindrance of prejudices that exist between their readers and our philosophy. With this in mind, I submit the following essay by Miss Edna Larkin, which appeared in "Opportunity", a publication issued by the Manual Arts Adult Evening School of Los Angeles, California.

J. S.

The case of an economic system without money is equally simple to present, equally easy to grasp. A world without money, and without any kind of substitute for a monetary exchange, would not be a world of chaos, as some might suppose. It would not be a world where progress is at a standstill and true ambition has died of inertia, as the alarmists would have us believe. It would not be a world of idlers, each doing his best to live on the product of another's labor, without compulsion to labor for themselves, as still others claim. It is a sad enough commentary on our present system that so many of us think of initiative only in terms of money, and conceive that economic stress is the only spur which will goad men into working. Such convictions only underline the basic fallacy of a life than can give rise to them.

But what would a world without money be like? I think it would be a world without poverty and hunger and unemployment; without child labor and overwork and economic misery; without fear for the future and driving misery in the present; without the ignorance that comes from lack of education and the cruelties that come from greed and insecurity. I think it would be a world where man could choose his particular work, and might work at the thing for which he is best fitted. I think it would be a world where everyone might be well and comfortable fed and housed, clothed and shod. I think it would be a world where everyone had an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and everyone had an equal share of the wealth of his country, produced by the labor of all for the use of all.

It's easy enough to envision. The foundation of any economic system after all, is no more than the old law of supply and demand. Under our present economy of scarcity, the supply is limited by the demand. And the demand is limited by the ability to pay for the supply. And this in turn is limited by the supply itself, the production of which furnishes us our buying power. The profit motive which is the mainspring of our monetary system is responsible for the lag between production and consumption, since the producer—the laborer or farmer—is paid less for what he produces than he must pay to buy it back for his own use. So demand lags behind supply, until at length, the supply must be stopped until the surplus is consumed, reducing buying power to its final minimum.

Under a system which does away with money and the consequent profits therefrom, the demand will mount, and the supply will mount with it, until at length each country will be producing to its utmost capacity to satisfy the demands of its citizens. There is demand enough even now to keep farms and factories going full blast; all that lacks is the money, where men may have for the asking all they need of the world's goods the demand will not fall.

Will the supply be sufficient to balance that tremendous demand that lack of money alone keeps in check today? Well, I am no economist. I have no statistics to quote, I only know that produce rots on the trees and in the fields; that factories stand idle or run at half-capacity; that whole great areas of the earth lie untapped and unreclaimed; that elements lie unmined in the ground; that there is an unimaginable world about us for science to explore and make use of.

Here in the United States alone are sufficient resources, if utilized to the full, to give each family of all our millions the equivalent of 5000 dollars a year income. That much, at least, is a statistical fact. Knowing that, I venture to predict that with all the vast resources of earth at our disposal and all its vast man-power at work, the supply will not fail.

Under our present system it doesn't pay to utilize these resources, discovered or undiscovered.

In a system of free exchange of the products of labor, these things will take their rightful place. There will be no surplus until all have obtained the necessities for a decent existence, and then the surplus will be converted into luxuries for the many rather than for the privileged few. Invention will come into its own when each simplification, each labor-saving device will mean a benefit to all, rather than the loss of a living. Machines will be utilized to provide leisure rather than unemployment.

This is democracy carried to its highest point, extended to its logical extreme.

It is self-evident that under such a system, the evils stemming from greed will be non-existent. Vice and crime, violence and corruption, even war itself, must of necessity disappear once the economic basis for them has been abolished. So a moneyless society of free exchange of labor for the produce of labor will mean more than the abolition of mere economic ills. It will mean a whole new world, a better world, the world we hopelessly dream of today, for our children and our children's children to inherit.

Utopian? Perhaps. It will be no quick and easy task, at any rate, to spread such a gospel around the world until it takes effect. It is a task of years, perhaps of centuries.

The introduction of such a system will cause no chaos in the precise and ponderous machine of civilization. It does not even involve such a dictum as that usually quoted to excuse imperfections in other Utopian schemes: that the few must suffer for the good of the many.

No one will suffer. No one will lose by it. Even the richest man can consume only a limited share of the world's goods for himself and his family's use. That share he may have for the taking; he and everyone else. That he cannot have these without conceding the equal right of others to them is the point on which the success of such a system rests. It is the basic principle of the Golden Rule of every great philosophy and religion, put into practice in such a way that in order to benefit by it, a man must comply with it.

There may be those who can find objections even to this universal principle of good. They may brand this as merely another crackpot scheme, as this or that dangerous "ism", even as an outright attempt to tear down government into anarchy.

To such reactionaries I can do no more than point out that progress has always been achieved by revolt against the old bad order of things. I can do no more than remind them of the speech of a certain famous young rebel made less than two hundred years ago, a speech which has become a part of our American tradition. Let me borrow from that speech to answer them:

"If this be treason, gentlemen, make the most of it!".

The New Morning

Up from the sleepless death
The people rise to conquer;
Up from the sewer's breath
To kill the roots of hunger;
Up from the couch of faith
They come to find their strength grow
(stronger!

Out of the silent throat
Come echoes of them marching;
Out of a single note
The anthem now is scorching;
Out of the sores that choke
Is flowing blood of man's searching.

Up from the graves of truth
The people rise to ponder;
Up from the sacred path
To seek a new reminder;
Up from a phantom wrath
They come to battle their commander.

Out of the centuries' hate
They roar the voice of scorning;
Out of the waste of light
They bring eternal dawning;
Out of the darkest night
They come to greet the New Morning!

W. Francis POTTER

Plentitude For All

The international relations have led everywhere since the world war and especially since the economic world crisis to more or less autarchic endeavours. Although there has never been any question of complete free trade, economy in 1940 had after all a strong international basis. It was owing to this basis that a country as Germany, f. i., could develop industrially so well. Especially during the last years has the international market shrunk enormously and various states are becoming more and more dependent on themselves. They got into greater and greater difficulties in proportion as they were more dependent on their foreign trade in order to provide themselves with vital necessities.

A country, industrially highly developed, and which at the same time is more or less cut off from international economic traffic, must, in order to be able to provide its people with food, with the methods of agriculture at present prevailing, have 2.5 acres cultivable land available for every inhabitant.

In Europe the following countries cannot do this, among others: England, Spain, France. Italy, Germany, Holland, Roumania, Poland and Belgium. Outside Europe: China, Japan, and India. Those among these countries which are not able to supplement their shortage of food by the sale of industrial products, and have in addition none or insufficient colonies get into the situation of a besieged fortress. Apart from the chaotic state of affairs, which is the result of the collapse of the pre-war economic relations, and which in itself leads to all sorts of tension internationally, there arises for some countries the danger of a shortage of vital necessities.

Whatever attitude one takes up towards the idea of self-sufficiency—and, in our opinion there is no doubt but that this system has many disadvantages, has in it dangers for a rational economic policy and would mean in many respects a step backwards—it remains an undeniable fact that various countries are at the moment being pushed far along this road, with the result of a re-orientation of the apparatus of production. In how far this re-orientation will be able to proceed still further augmenting international differences, depends to a great extent on the question as to whether the states which, capitalistically speaking are pushed most into the corner, will be able to provide themselves with their most vital necessities.

Even the most enthusiastic advocate of autarchy does not fail to see that this can never be realized completely. But it is clear that many countries would be able to adapt themselves to the existing world situation much more easily if they were not dependent on their foreign trade for their vital necessities. How far it would lead to a relief of tension in the international relations is difficult to say. But there is sufficient inducement for all antimilitarists to concern themselves with this problem and to bring it up for discussion. This is the reason why we would draw attention here to the book published in 1935 by George Allen & Unwin, London, and written by Dr. O. W. Wilcox, "Nations can live at home". (10sh.); Mr. Willcox gives in this book a detailed account of the results which were attained by modern agrobiology and holds that it is at present possible, by applying scientific methods of cultivation, to get such a quantity of foodstuffs as to allow a density of population of 15,000 persons per square mile! Which means that the countries where the population is densest, would be able to provide their own vital necessities. Even though we do not by any means share the economic views of the writer, and consider that he regards the problems of these times too simple and absolutely disregards an investigation into the bases of our society, still we can recommend the study of his book on the strength of the very important agricultural considerations regarded from the viewpoint of the surplus population problem.

(IAC Press Service)

Books and Pamphlets Received

YOU MUST NOT TELL THE TRUTH, by C. De Vos, 15 pages. Free upon request. From author: Coopersville, Michigan.

LA TETRALOGIE de Richard Wagner (La Bible d'un Anarchiste). Traduction et Commentaires par A. de Malander. 306 pages, paper bound. 18 francs. La Laborieuse, 10 rue Emile Jamais, Nimes, France.

A B C OF MARXISM: 10 Lessons with foreword and appendix by Carl Cowl. 47 pages, mimeographed in pamphlet form. 25 cents. 1806 North Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

THE NEGRO UNDER CAPITALISM. 12 pp. mimeegraphed. Five Cents. Same publishers.

CONSTITUTION of the Revolutionary Workers' League U. S. Same publishers.

THE THEOLOGIC STREAM, by A Los Angeles Skeptic. 2-page-leaflet. The J. M. Press, Hyde Park P. O. Box 4, Los Angeles, Calif.

HITLER—FELDHER? and GERMAN GOERING—GRAL. FIELD MARSHALL. 16-page pamphlet. Issued clandestinely in France.

SOUTH AMERICAN SETTLEMENT for REFUGEES COLOMBIA. 11 pages. Pamphlet form. War Resisters International. 11, Abey Road, Enfield, Middx., England.

HE LAID DOWN HIS LIFE THAT WE MIGHT LIVE, by Merle Eyles. 7 page-pamphlet. Same address as previously listed pamphlet.

SCIENCE CONDEMNS RACISM. 8-page-pamphlet. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. 519 West 121st Street, New York City.

FIIR FREIHEIT UND SOZIALISMUS von Radriguez. 36 page-pamphlet. Internationella Arbetar-Associationen, IAA, Box 415, Stockholm, I, Sweden.

A NEW EDITION OF
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TOWARDS AN ANARCHIST SOCIETY

Marcus Graham

Of all the social ideas offered to mankind during the last two centuries as a solution to its problems, Anarchism alone has always been the most uncompromising of all. For this very reason, it should not surprise any one to learn that Anarchism as a social idea has failed to progress, as compared with the social ideas of Karl Marx, but has, to all appearances even regressed. This superficial appearance of regress cannot be construed as the end of Anarchism as a social idea of liberation. We find in the realm of science that the teacher often meets with momentary defeats and disappointments. In the end, however, truth does not fail to hold its own ground and win the battle.

Therefore, it is in the field of experimentation that the ideas embodied in the anarchist philosophy will meet the test. This will come when mankind realizes the need for making a change from an ORDAINED LIFE to a FREE LIFE.

* * *

How can mankind ever reach the state of mind whereby it should desire sufficiently strong enough to experiment with and put to a test the ideas of Anarchism? Is there any possibility that this stage will ever be reached, in view of the constantly increasing power assumed by the State in human relations everywhere?

In monarchchical countries and republics, fascism—through the State—reigns supreme. In democratic countries, it is again the State which is in command. In the land af marxian socialism—Russia—the State is even more powerful than elsewhere.

In view of these realities, can the anarchist still hope and contend that the reign of the State is foredoomed? The answer to this is to be found in a closer examination of the origin, function and growth of the State throughout the world.

Has the State been conceived and brought into life in order to aid mankind to live in contentment and abundance? Has it developed and grown in a natural and healthy way? History gives us an unequivocal answer: IT HAS NOT. It was born out of brigandage and has so remained. In capitalist countries, it is the legal protector of the wealth it has taken from the producing masses. Even in Russia, under a marxian socialist State, the liberty and life of the individual have been sacrificed for the sake of a promised but not given loaf of bread.

Every war which the State has engineered at the behest of Capitalism was imposed upon the people under fraudulent claims—as are the imposed systems of economic exploitation during times of peace. Even the imposed experimentation carried on in the name of the "proletariat", with its army, must be classed as a fraud thrust upon the people.

* * *

From what has already been said, it should be clear that man can NEVER BE HAPPY and FREE under any form of government. True happiness will be rampant only in a free society. Man CANNOT be truly FREE as long as there remains even ONE force which he must obey or on whose mercy his economic life is dependent.

Man, according to the anarchist philosophy, CAN and WILL reach the stage of true contentment and freedom only when he realizes the imperative need for discarding every form of exploitation and rulership of man over man. Man will ultimately learn to rely upon his own initiative and upon cooperation and experimentation carried on between himself and his fellowman. For the best that lies dormant within man—love for Justice, Equality and Cooperation—can only be awakened with the dawn of a free society: Anarchy.

* * *

But how is man to reach the stage of the dawn of a free society?

He will grow tired of the State's all powerful grip over life and happiness. He will grow tired of being slaughtered in economic wars, on the battlefields, in the factories and on the land. He will grow tired, too, of politics and politicians, of saviours who have always proved deceiving, of trade union officials who aid in maintaining the status quo. He will grow tired of all sorts of compromising palliatives.

When this happens, the world will witness a series of social rebellions which will break every chain that has fettered mankind for ages. Governments will crumble to dust upon the very sandy foundations on which they were erected. All institutions which are part of the present system of society which functions by virtue of its exploitation will also fall. A freed mankind will no longer have any use for the policeman and judge, jail and jailer, soldier and gun, thieves and stocks. The monetary system, too, will disappear. Property will be worth no more than the exchange value which neighbor and neighbor will, by voluntary understanding, attach to it.

* * *

CENTRALIZATION, the chief prop of Capitalism and marxian socialism, will be replaced by DECENTRALIZATION. Centralization calls for exercise of power. Power denotes rulership. Where rulership prevails someone must be ruled. Thus, **where centralization prevails freedom cannot thrive.** Decentralization opens up every avenue for the expression and assertion of initiative, self-rule and equal responsibility. **It is in the decentralized voluntary cooperation of man and fellowman that the anarchist foresees the future.** It is a future with no coercion, no exploitation, no rulership. It is a future guided by and based on the voluntary associations and agreements made between FREE MEN.

Man can be truly happy only when he will be free. He will then be able to do things because he will feel and know that he wants to do them. This kind of happiness can never be brought about by any society, regardless of its label, which bears the State's support and stamp of approval.

* * *

The transformation from a society of rulership to an anarchist society cannot be accomplished overnight. It has taken man centuries to change his barbaric conditions to what we can offhand call semicivilized conditions. The change from the present state to that of a truly emancipated one will undoubtedly take time. The freed man will learn by the test of experimentation what is best suited for his well-being and happiness. The freed man will learn and at the same time bring about a science of social freedom, just as he learned and mastered the physical sciences.

* * *

What ground does the anarchist hold for entertaining so optimistic a view and hope?

Against the triumphant march of the State with its coercion in every phase of life, the anarchist points to the expression of freedom as achieved by science in its various physical branches. More than that, he looks toward art, in all its branches, as the effervescent fountain from which he has been drinking of imagination, knowledge and understanding.

By what standards do the critical minds of the world measure the work of the dramatist, novelist, poet, painter, sculptor and musician? The work of these artists is measured by its degree of truthfulness, imagination, beauty, by the imaginary dreams of a better and more beautiful life, by pointing at freedom as the sole guide and hope for the accomplishments of a civilization wherein justice and happiness for every human being will be possible.

Have the reactionary forces of life, the rulers and all its evil institutions of oppression, inspired a true artist to do creative work? Every intelligent person knows the answer is NO. Art cannot thrive amidst the fetters and surrounded by injustice and oppression. Under these conditions, artists can be aroused only to express their protest against these conditions. And we find that that is what different types of artists have been doing until now. Even today, when the work of an artist almost always takes on the form of a protest against conditions, the artist must work in an atmosphere of some sort of freedom. The artist today is the dreamer, the trumpeter. The great possibilities for art, under a system of real freedom, can readily be imagined.

Therefore, it is natural that in the realm of art and all its branches the anarchist finds the strongest substantiation for his ideal. In art he finds the embodiment of his dream and hopes: Freedom and Justice, Beauty and Happiness for all mankind.

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MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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Education and Isms

Dear Marcus Graham:

I'm sorry that I was unable to comply with your request to send an article by the 26th. There seems to be so little time for putting down words that I don't seem to accomplish much in that line. And if I did do much of it I fear it would not amount to much anyhow. Writing all the time means that many words must be used that does not get anywhere so far as constructive or contemplative thought is concerned.

Naturally there is much physical work to be done in a little school like ours and we cannot afford to hire someone to do it and the members are not much inclined to do more physical work after they come home from their daily treadmill work at their particular occupations.

And as for the young people, well, the less said the better. They can be very active in running around sky-larking or running into mischief but when it comes to turning that energy into real work it becomes just labor to them.

Anyhow I do not know whether it would be possible for me to write an essay as you suggested, since I do not consider that education belongs to any "ism". Education would have to go on under any condition for it is the process of growth and the minute it becomes the work of some group calling themselves by the name of some philosophy-ending-ism it becomes limited in its scope or hampered by propaganda. (*)

Education is never Anarchism, Socialism, Single-Taxism, Republicanism nor any other ism.

Yet our conception of growth involves the concepts of freedom just as Anarchism must include concepts of freedom.

It is interesting to notice, even tho it is sad, that not many Anarchists have any real conception of what freedom in education means nor what education means anyhow. There is very little difference between the concepts of the conservative and the average Anarchist. The only difference is in what shall be taught or what kind of propaganda shall be used. If children learn to read early and can be prepared for college that seems to be the sum total of the ideas of education. The "bad" parts of our public education, they think they can overcome by propaganda. They do not see that propaganda as such has nothing to do with education. Propaganda does not make the child grow. It may only confuse him. He can grow only from his own experiences as they come to him in his daily life, and our problem is to leave him so free on the hand that he will be able to get experience from his daily life, but also to be able to provide an environment that will give him the utmost in such experiences as will be conducive to his growth or development. Of course, growth and development mean an all rounded growth, physical, mental and spiritual. It is not enough to be well informed, as good as that may be, it is necessary to be able to use the information with judgment. Then, man to know himself must "make himself objective to himself" as Froebel says. By doing things with his own hands directed by his own mind, he must learn what his own capabilities and possibilities are. He must not be afraid of himself. And this is the hardest to overcome in the child. When he spends his time wrangling with problems that are distinctly adult problems he cannot have time to know what his own problems are. There is so much to be said on this and it has been said so much better by others that there is no use in my tiring you now.

Wish that the writings of your paper and others could get a better field for distribution than just those who already agree with you.

And so good luck and goodbye for the old year, with the hope that freedom will find better ground for growth during the coming year.

Yours, **Alexis C. FERM**

(*)—I have invited comrade Ferm to write on the subject of Education and its relation to Anarchism. The issue of propaganda of isms in education has been a very debated subject in our movement. And although comrade Ferm seems not to be aware of it, I have, for a long time, taken the same position that he does on this question.—**M. G.**

Education

The charm of life is the variety of genius, these contrasts and flavours by which Heaven has modulated the identity of truth; and there is a perpetual hankering to violate this individuality, to warp his ways of thinking and behaviour, to resemble or reflect your thinking and behaviour. A low self-love in the parent desires that his child should repeat his character and fortune; an expectation which the child, if justice is done him, will nobly disappoint. By working on the theory that this resemblance exists, we shall do what in us lies to defeat his proper promise and produce the ordinary and mediocre. I suffer whenever I see that common sight of a parent or senior imposing his opinion and way of thinking and being on a young soul to which they are totally unfit. Cannot we let people be themselves, and enjoy life in their own way? You are trying to make that man another you. One's enough. Or we sacrifice the genius of the pupil, the unknown possibilities of his nature, to a neat and safe uniformity, as the Turks whitewash the costly mosaics of ancient art which the Greeks left on their temple walls. Rather let us have men whose manhood is only the continuation of their boyhood, natural characters still; such are able and fertile for heroic action; and not that sad spectacle with which we are too familiar, educated eyes in uneducated bodies. It does not make us brave or free. We teach boys to be such men as we are. We do not teach them to aspire to be all they can. We do not give them a training as if we believed in their noble nature. We scarce educate their bodies. We do not train the eye and the hand. We exercise their understandings to the apprehension and comparison of some facts, to a skill in numbers, in words; we aim to make accountants, attorneys, engineers; but not to make able, earnest, great-hearted men. The great object of education should be commensurate with the object of life. It should be a moral one; to teach self-trust; to inspire the youthful man with an interest in himself; with a curiosity touching his own nature; to acquaint him with the resources of his mind, and to teach him that there is all his strength.

—Ralph Waldo EMERSON

ANARCHISM AND THE STATE

Hippolyte Havel

What, after all, is this State idea, this idea of the organized community to which the individual has to be immolated? Theoretically it is the subordination of the individual to the good of all is demanded; practically is it his subordination to a collective egoism, political, military, economic, which seeks to satisfy certain collective aims and ambitions shaped and imposed on the great mass of the individuals by a smaller or larger number of ruling persons who are supposed in some way to represent the community. It is immaterial whether these belong to a governing clan or emerge as in modern States from the mass partly by force of character, but much more by force of circumstances; are imposed more by hypnotism of verbal persuation than by overt and actual force. In either case there is no guarantee that this ruling class or ruling body represents the best minds of a nation or its noblest or its highest instincts.

Nothing of the kind can be asserted of the modern politician in any part of the world; he does not represent the soul of the people or its aspirations; what he does usually represent is all the average pettiness, selfishness, egoism, self-deception that is about him and these he represents well enough as well as a great deal of mental incompetence and moral conventionality, timidity and pretence. Great issues often come to him for decision but he does not deal with them greatly; high words and noble ideas are on his lips, but they are only the clap-trap of a party. The disease and falsehood of modern political life is patent in every country of the world and only the hypnotized acquiescence even of the intellectual classes in the great organized sham, the acquiescence that men yield to everything that is habitual and makes the present atmosphere of their lives, cloaks and prolongs the malady. Yet it is by such minds that the good of all has to be decided, to such hands that has to be entrusted; to such an agency calling itself the State that the individual is being more and more called upon to give up his entire activity.

Even if the governing instruments were better constituted and of a higher moral character, still the State would not be what the State idea pretends to be. Theoretically, it is the collective wisdom and force of the community made available and organized for the general good; practically, it is so much of the intellect and power available in the community as the particular machinery of State organization will allow to come to the surface, which uses that machinery but also caught in it and hampered by it, and hampered also by the large amount of folly and selfish weakness that comes up in the same wave. Things would be much worse if there were not a field left for a less trammeled individual effort doing what the State cannot do, employing and using the sincerity, energy, idealism of the best individuals to attempt that which the State has not the wisdom or courage to attempt, getting that done which a collective conservatism and imbecility leave undone or actively oppose and suppress. It is this which is the really effective agent of collective progress. But we are now tending towards such an increase of organized State power and such a huge irresistable and complex State activity as will either eliminate free individual effort altogether or leave it dwarfed and cowed into helpnessness.

The State is neither the best mind of the nation nor is it even the sum of the commercial energies. It leaves out voluntary action, suppresses the working force and thinking mind of important minorities, often of those which represent that which is best in the present state of society.

* * *

The regeneration of Society, or better still, the formation of a new society, is possible alone through Anarchism, i. e., through the reestablishment of the natural relations of men to one another. This can be accomplished by Anarchist Communism, guaranteeing to each individual full liberty. Each member of such a Society stands free and equal among his fellow beings, and any attempt to establish other standards will constitute an act of violence against the principle of a free society.

There is no natural right for the possession of private property, nor for authoritarian leadership; once permitted they inevitably destroy the peace and general welfare. The whole history of mankind proves this statement.

Let us consider Anarchism as the scientific teaching of the natural relationship of men. Realizing that our knowledge of the world reaches no further than our senses can reach the Anarchist rejects all fruitless speculations of transcendental philosophy; he has scant respect for visionary dreams. All that takes place in the universe is the result of activity inherent in matter. Upon this view is based our moral doctrine, which may be summarized as follows:

Every living being strives unceasingly for enjoyment of life; this endeavor is the basis of all his actions. Each human being seeks to learn by what ways and means he can attain the highest purpose of life.

Through experience and observation one arrives at the conclusion that the individual separated from the society of his fellowmen, produces the mere necessities of life by the utmost wearisome labor, but that through the common labor of many, these necessities are easily and readily obtained, allowing leisure for the pursuit of the arts and sciences, by which life is made pleasanter and richer; this knowledge imposes upon one the duty of working for the common weal, since each individual welfare is assured only through universal well being.

The fact that the gifts, powers and dispositions of men are very different leads one to the conclusion that the participation in the various labor of a group or community must be entirely voluntary, free from outward pressure, as free as the right to use and enjoy in unlimited measure the goods produced by common labor.

By experience and clear knowledge of the qualities of man, we arrive at the firm conviction that a lasting welfare of society can be established only through the communistic anarchist society.

By what means can such a society be accomplished? Through propaganda in word and deed, i, e., through the distribution of Anarchist literature and the courageous determination of sufficient numbers of men and women not to participate in the present system of exploitation and slavery.

Authority and Laziness

Authority is laziness
Freedom is work.

The slave alone, be he wealthy or poor, is lazy. The wealthy are slaves of prejudices and false science; the poor of ignorance and false conceptions, — both are slaves of the law, the one in submitting himself to it, the other in imposing it.

Would it not mean suicide to leave our productive faculties in inertia? He who does not do anything is not a man, he is less than a brute, for a brute acts according to the measure of his means, he obeys his instinct. But he who has a bit of intelligence cannot do anything less than obey it, and intelligence is not idleness, it is the fecondating movement which ceaselessly says: Work; put your hands and brain at the task; produce and discover; production and discoveries mean freedom. Work is life. Laziness is death. Die or work!

Joseph DEJACQUE (In "L'Humanisphere")

(Contributed by the "Book-Friendship Circle")

The Voice of Anarchy

In order to measure or give weight to the success and influence of a social theory, a comparison with other movements and theories of the same character is required. But the anarchist theory as a class by itself, holds a distinct self-commanding sphere among social-revolutionary concepts. Unlike all other political movements, Anarchism cannot adopt the character and form of mass movements. Anarchism, according to its teaching, expresses itself in concrete and specific terms which, however, do not greatly attract the public's attention and are not, therefore, very easily comprehended.

Nevertheless, let us treat the teaching of anarchism in the light of recent world-happenings. In this way, we can more properly judge how far the theory of an anti-state doctrine proves to be correct and even applicable to social life. We all know that the past two decades have ruined the socialist ideas which have been preached to the world. Many of the socialist dogmas and beliefs have been shattered. In the course of world happenings, they proved to be nothing more than false and obsolete, although still accepted as truths.

But how did Anarchism stand up under the fire? We should be willing to admit that many of the anarchist dogmas and concepts proved to be wrong and unpractical. Yet, the basic idea of anarchism came out more than unscathed, rather, world events gave convincing evidence that anarchism is constructive, fundamentally strong and the breath of life.

What is the basic principle of anarchism? Simply this: the negation of government. Anarchists contend that the root of all social evils can be traced to our present order which is ruled by force—a force that leads to poverty, exploitation, oppression, class distinction, privileged minorities and wars.

Bertrand Russell, one of the greatest thinkers of our time, also comes to the conclusion that force, in its various forms, is the root of all our misery. He even proposes a "new" remedy: to tame, to limit and at the same time also democratize that force ("taming the power"). But we know that this remedy has already been tried. There is only one sound cure, one real escape: to eliminate, to destroy that force.

While all socialist theories aim to change the capitalist order and stress the importance of overthrowing or setting back the economic power and curtail the claim to private ownership, at the same time they look upon the State as a road to freedom and even invest it with a mission to aid in the realization of socialism. It is not so with anarchism. The anarchist theory is the ONLY social doctrine which maintains that political force must be destroyed together with the economic. The anarchists believe that socialism can be realized only when the State and all its institutions are abolished, for the state is one of the chief causes of our social evils, a misfortune and a peril to suffering humanity.

This absolute truth has been proclaimed many years ago by our anarchist thinker Mikhail Bakunin, when he said: "Each state must, for fear of its own destruction, strive to become more powerful. It must devour so as not to be devoured. It must appropriate so as not to be appropriated". And Bakunin proved to us with prophetic foresight that the state, every state, must eventually become an arena for swindle, robbery, deceit and wars.

Behold, now, what is happening around us. We have before us a world of Fascism, Nazism and Stalinism. These orders are the most vivid expression of a highly developed powerful state. They are known as "totalitarian" states. This means they are governed in an absolute and unbridled manner and usurp, not only the political, but also the economic power. They assume control over the whole social life, just as modern capitalism shows a marked tendency towards monopolizing the whole economic power (international trusts, chamber of commerces, etc.), so does the political apparatus strive to lay its hand on every available power for introducing the strictest centralization, dictatorship and totalitarian rule.

These totalitarian states march in different directions, but in the end they reach the same objective. The Fascist and Nazi states evolved from capitalist "democracy". The Marxist-Stalinist state began with socialism. But, as agencies of centralized power and monopoly, they all come to one destination—to totalitarianism, to an absolute political and economic rule. The same process, by the way, is also assumed by all democratic states. Their innermost "nature" urges them on the same road.

There is a tendency now to accuse or throw the blame upon individuals, upon singled-out personalities: Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. But the truth is that they are nothing more than a product, a symbol of the social system known as centralized power. Centralization is now the keynote for the entire world.

And if we are faced with the problems as to how the dictators were invested with so much blind force, with such collosal influence, with such power, the answer is this: Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin are ordinary human beings just as we are. They probably possess some specific capabilities and other talented features, but thousands other human beings also possess like capabilities and skilfull talents. The simple truth is that Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin succeeded in capturing, through normal or abnormal methods, control over the state. There is where the basic cause for their "greatness" lies.

Reaction and a new world war are now pervading our universe. For this the "democratic" states are as much to blame as the totalitarian states. Hitlerism, Fascism and Stalinism—they are all a direct product, a legitimate offspring, not only of capitalist monopoly, but also of state power, of centralized state monopoly. The latest world occurences substantiate the fundamental thought of anti-state libertarian socialism

In order for the reader to clearly understand how the state can be side-wayed, nullified, a more enlightening discussion is required. But one thing should be clear and certain to all who have studied world events during the past 25 years: Marxian political and economic centralized socialism is openly exposed as completely bankrupt. Humanity will either drift into eternal slavery, disappear from the earth or it will search and perhaps find a new road through which it will find and attain real libertarian socialism.

M. B. RESIN

(This essay was especially written for the jubilee issue of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme". However, it was kept out from that issue and two subsequent issues. See article "Unpleasant Words" in the December, 1939 issue of MAN!—Editor.)

Man and Anarchism

Man is still haunted by the huge ballast of inoculated prejudices brought down to him from centuries of spiritual and political superstitions. Because of newspapers, literary trash, the radio, etc., man's brain is never meditating, it is always on the run, unconsciously suffering from improper assimilation, better say from over-stuffing. Man is becoming less able to analyze ideas, and those ideas he thinks he possesses are superficially rooted, dogmatic, they form the brake to his intellectual growth.

And thus, imbued with the autoritarian virus, which rots the social system, man cannot grasp the possibility of a society without judges and lawyers, without prominent and small tyrants, without murderous and bloody wars, and without himself being chained to an imposed task; in a word, for him, a society in which he would grow in a melodious and universal harmony, is only a chimera, he finds it impossible to perceive the great beauty of Anarchism.

Jules SCARCERIAUX

ANARCHISM AND ITS TEACHERS

Ammon A. Hennacy

Anarchism has been called non-state Socialism. Despite the popular idea of anarchists as violent men, Anarchism is the ONE non-violent social philosophy. It is the very antithesis of Communism and Fascism which place the State as supreme. Anarchists will do away with the State entirely. The function of the Anarchist is twofold; by daily courage in non-cooperation with the tyrannical forces of the State and the Church he helps to tear down present society; and by daily acts of cooperation with his fellows in overcoming evil with goodwill and solidarity, he builds toward the anarchistic cooperative commonwealth which is formed by voluntary action with the right of secession.

The basis of Anarchism is liberty with individual responsibility; its methods are decentralization of activity and federation of local communes for national and international functions; its technique approaches that of true civil service rather than jobs handed out through politics.

Simplicity is emphasized. Courage and freedom are its watch words. Anarchism, having faith in the innate goodness within everyone, seeks to establish the Golden Rule by working from within the consciousness of the individual, while all other systems of society, working from without, depend upon man-made laws and the violence of the State to compel men to act justly. Anarchists seek to slowly change the forms of society, but do not rely upon that change alone to make people better.

And now a definition from the Encyclopedia Britannica:

"ANARCHISM: the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial or professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, and also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the field of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all the functions."

Anarchists do not believe in the idea of majority rule which is a part of the idea of democracy as known today. They do not believe in voting because they know that whoever is elected to office cannot change events very much even if he might desire to do so, for political scheming and trickery are a part of the machinery of the State. If they do not vote they do not take part in politics and therefore do not consider themselves duty-bound to obey laws which they do not help to make. They consider themselves ambassadors of a new society, living for the time beings in a corrupt civilization.

Anarchists have been pictured as being ready with a bomb in one hand to kill rich men and rulers. Very few dead capitalists are lying around. Now it happens that a Democrat killed Lincoln, a Republican killed Garfield, and an Anarchist killed McKinley; and a Catholic killed the President of Mexico. As I said before, most people believe in killing. For the few Anarchists who have killed here and there millions have been killed in wars started and blessed by the Church and State and fought on the most part by non-Anarchists.

While the brief outline I have given of the essential principles is not going to be understood at once I feel that some of the points and illustrations will perhaps be remembered when the time comes that you have become disgusted with politics as a means of achieving a new society. Now as long as you believe in voting, pick out the best man and hope for the best. As long as you believe in killing people to make the world better pick out the worst tyrants and kill them, and see if any better ones spring up in their places. As long as you believe in war pick out the biggest gun and the meanest method of killing your opponents. But when you have finished with these methods and have gotten nowhere then look up Anarchism.

* * *

ANARCHIST TEACHERS

I will give you the names of the leading Anarchists and a word about each of them.

WILLIAM GODWIN, father-in-law of Shelley (1756 to 1836) did not use the word Anarchism, but advocated the idea of liberty and of society without the state. He was peacefully inclined.

MAX STIRNER, known under this name although his real name was Johan K. Schmidt (1806-1856). He also did not use the word anarchism. He was an ultra-individualist and tended to advocate violence as a means of achieving his ends. Just as two scientists have discovered a formula although living in different continents, so did PIERRE PROUDHON (1809-1865) of France, and JOSIAH WARREN, the American, whose father was a general at Bunker Hill and who is perhaps more of a son of the revolution than our D. A. R.'S are daughters, used the word ANARCHISM to define this idea of non-state voluntary action as a means of achieving a new society. Proudhon was of a peaceful nature although not a pacifist. He emphasized cooperatives and a People's Bank. Warren had taken part in Robert Owen's colony at New Harmony, Ind., and had met enough of the prototype of our present day "$30 every Friday" member of the working class to understand that something more than a handout was necessary to make a new society. He emphasized personal responsibility along with justice and freedom. Thus we see that Anarchism cannot be said to be a foreign product—it is as American as Bunker Hill.

MIKHAIL BAKUNIN (1814-1876), led a romantic life in jails and on scaffolds which did not quite cause his death. He wrote a book, like Mussolini, denying the existence of God, but unlike Mussolini did not turn traitor and bow to the Pope.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU is my favorite, along with Tolstoy, of anarchists. I will have to tell you something in detail about him for he carries a special lesson to Americans. At one time he was asked to pay taxes to the church, as all people were supposed to do in New England. He refused to do so and was placed in jail. He said that he did not belong to church but was told by the officers that his father belonged and that he was born in the church. He then asked for a paper and wrote on it: "I, Henry David Thoreau, do not consider myself a member of something that I never joined. I therefore will sign off of it." . . . "Now bring me another paper and I will sign off of the other things I am supposed to have joined and do not belong to." Later he refused to pay taxes on some land because this money would be used to legally, with the sanction of the Church and the State, bring the escaped negro slave back to his master. People said he was crazy, that one person could not stop this thing. But he knew that one man on the side of right and justice is a majority. He went to jail again and Emerson came to see him and asked him why he was in jail. Thoreau asked him, "Why Waldo? Why are you outside?" Then he made his classic statement which is worthwhile copying: "A PRISON IS THE ONLY HOUSE IN A SLAVE STATE WHERE A FREE MAN CAN ABIDE WITH HONOR"

PETER KROPOTKIN (1828-1921), who had more right to the throne than did the Czar; who when a young man discovered that the maps of Russia were wrong; that they had the Ural mountains running in the wrong direction. This man renounced his honors of science and of wealth and nobility and became a leading Anarchist. His "Memoirs of a Revolutionist", "Mutual Aid", "Conquest of Bread" and "Ethics" are worth reading. While not a pacifist, he was of a peaceful nature. He emphasized Mutual Aid instead of struggle as a means of life.

BENJAMIN TUCKER (1854-1939), was editorial writer for the "Boston Globe" for ten years and editor of "Liberty" from 1880 to 1908, has given an argument which cannot be answered. He said that when one man robs another man that is violence; when one man robs and tyrannizes a nation—we too would say today—like Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin, that is violence; and also when all men seek to make a minority of one individual succumb to the vote or desire of their will that is also violence. As Oscar Wilde has said there are three tyrants, the King, the Pope, and the Mob, and the last of these is the greatest.

A Catholic who became a radical and went out of the way to find a name for his daughter finally called her VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE. Then he turned Catholic again and put her in a convent school in Michigan. She ran away twice over the snow, but was recaptured. In 1887, along with Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and others she became an Anarchist after the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs. (Do you know that this injustice and the injustice of Sacco and Vanzetti and Tom Mooney has made many radicals?)

LEO TOLSTOY (1828-1910), was a famous author, military man, hunter, and master of several thousand serfs. Everyone looked up to him and he was happy in his estate in Russia with his wife and children. But somehow life ceased to have meaning for him and he became restless and unhappy. Looking around he saw the peasants fairly happy in their poverty and he sought a reason for their seeming pleasure in poverty. At first he thought it was because of their devotion to the church, but when he saw them worship a cow's knuckle as the bones of a saint he was forced to admit that they were happy in their ignorance. Now he was too wise to believe in the superstitions of the church and the peasants. Thinking that perhaps he might have missed something in the New Testament he studied Greek and made a translation of the Gospels from the original Tischendorf documents in the Moscow museum (the same documents sold a few years ago by the Bolsheviks to the British Museum). Here he made the great discovery that the orthodox translation had emphasized the viewpoint of the rich and powerful and had hidden the simple message of the Sermon on the Mount.

Over 40 years before the downfall of the Czar and the Orthodox Church in Russia, Tolstoy announced his opposition to them. Because of his renown he was not arrested by the Czar (as his followers are today in Soviet Russia) but he was excommunicated from the Church. This great Christian Anarchist found that he could not change Russia at once but there was something that he could do. He has told us that the First Step was to become a vegetarian and to cease being a great hunter and killing animals, as well as eating them. He could not change others but he could change himself (as every one of us can do if we really want to). The Second Step was to try and change his attitude toward the immediate world with which he came in contact. He could not overthrow the Czar of Russia but he could overthrow the tyranny existing on his estate. So he freed his serfs, started schools to help educate them, refused to have others wait on him, donned the garb of the peasant and lived from the sweat of his brow working in the fields. Of course his relatives thought he was crazy, but he continued to live up to his ideals in an increasing realization of their worth.

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Without Comment

They're now telling of 4 Britishers who were called before the army officials. The first begged off, because of a bad heart . . . The second asked to be excused from service because he had a broken leg . . . The third claimed exemption because he had a wife and five children to support . . . The fourth, however, said: "Get me a gun and put me in the front lines right away. I don't care if they kill me. Just give me a gun—and put me right in the first trench" . . . "Congratulations, my good man," said the officer, "you'll go immediately" . . . "Immediately?" the man said. "Say — don't you even think I'm crazy?" —N. Y. "Post", Nov. 4, 1939

LONDON, Nov. 10 (UP). — Desmond Tester, English actor who played the part of a Highland drummer boy in the motion picture "The Drum" registered today as a conscientious objector and was assigned to farm work.

"For me, killing is utterly wrong and futile. I refuse to do it," he said.

He also refused to participate in entertainments for troops or appear in a propaganda film, saying "I consider aiding or abetting or helping the army in any way to be equally wrong."

LONDON, Nov. 1 (UP).—A disabled former soldier's description of war as filthy and contemptible in support of his son's application for immunity from army service as a conscientious objector brought prolonged applause from the galleries of the London Tribunal today. The applause became an uproar when the judge ordered the galleries cleared and the case continued in chambers. People in the galleries including several women, refused to leave and shouted "dictatorship . . . We want a fair deal. This should not be done behind closed doors."

The case which caused the disturbance involved Jack Law, an unemployed clerk, whose father was called to the stand at the boy's request. After describing his experiences in the World War he said:

"Having suffered in a hospital for five years, two of them on my back, and after having been fed by other people I determined that if ever I got out I would instruct my son that under no conditions whatever should he participate in such dirty and filthy work.

"I volunteered in the World War because I had a farm in Canada and they said I was in the army to protect my farm from the Germans. But after I came back I found it wasn't the Germans but the people I had gone to fight for against whom I needed protection."

One of the people most perplexed by the new Nazi-Russian pact is Mrs. Nijinsky, wife of the famous dancer . . . Nijinsky went mad in 1914 and had a complete mental blackout until a few years ago. Then, during his lucid interval, his wife tried to explain to him all the changes which had transpired—the movies, radio and government. Nijinsky expressed great surprise at the change in Russia, and asked constant questions about the Soviet Union—and how it differed from the Fascist regimes . . . Nijinsky then had another relapse, from which he has just recovered. In letters to friends here his wife now confesses to her most difficut problem—that of explaining to him the baffling Soviet-Nazi tieup. —Leonard Lyons, in the N. Y. "Post"

Assistant Attorney General John Harlan Amen today cracked open in Brooklyn the most widespread bail bond racket ever conducted in this city.

A king-pin Brooklyn bondsman, who has pleaded guilty to forgery and perjury, gave statements involving fifty police lieutenants and sergeants and more than twenty plain-clothesmen, as well as Assistant District Attorneys, magistrates and attaches of County and Special Sessions Courts.

—N. Y. "Post", Nov. 22, 1939.

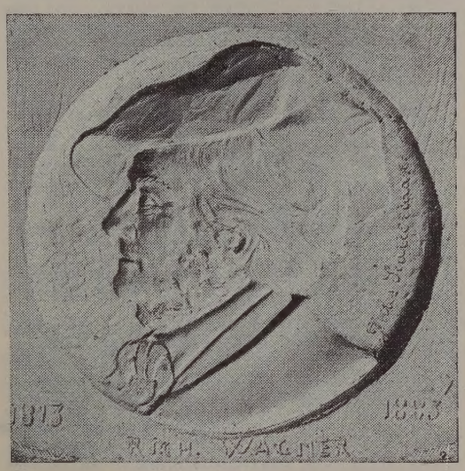
The Creating Force

I am the secret of perpetual youth, the everlasting creator of life; where I am not, death rages. I am the comfort, the hope, the dream of the oppressed. I destroy what exists; but from the rock whereon I light new life begins to flow. I come to you to break all chains which bear you down; to free you from the embrace of death, and instill a new life into your veins. All that exists must perish; that is the eternal condition of life, and I the all destroying fulfil that law to create a fresh, new existence. I will renovate to the very foundations the order of things in which you live, for such is the offspring of sin, whose blossom is misery and whose fruit is crime. The grain is ripe, and I am the reaper. I will dissipate every delusion which has mastery over the human race. I will destroy the authority of the one over the many; of the lifeless over the living; of the material over the spiritual. I will break in pieces the authority of the great; OF THE LAW OF PROPERTY. Let the will of each be master of mankind, one's own desires fashion laws, one's own strength be one's own property, for the freeman is the sacred man, and there is nothing sublimer than he. Let the delusion be trampled under foot which gives one individual power over millions; which reduces millions to the subjection of one; which would teach that one possesses the power to make others happy. The peer dare not rule over his peer, he has no power over his equal; and thus, since all are equal, I will destroy the mastery of the one over the other.

Let the delusion be destroyed which provides for the mastery of death over life, of the past over the future. The law of the dead, that is their own law; it shares their lot and dies with them—it must not prevail over life. Life is in itself a law. And since law is for the living and not for the dead, and since you are the living, there exists no one who dare master you; thus you alone are the law, your own free will the single sublime law, and therefore I will destroy the mastery of the dead over the living. Destroyed be the delusion which makes mankind the slave of his own work, of his own property. The noblest gift of mankind is his productive power; therein lies the source of all prosperity, and not in what is produced; in production itself is the employment of your power, therein lies your true and highest enjoyment. Man's work is his true life, the living must not be beholden to the lifeless, must not be made subject to it. Therefore, DESTROYED BE THE DELUSION WHICH HAMPERS ENJOYMENT AND LIMITS FREE WILL, which elevates property over man, and degrades him to become the slave of his own work. Look around you, misguided one, on these abundant meadows through which you wander, slaves, strangers. You shall walk them free, free from the yoke of the living, free from the chains of the dead. What nature has made, mankind cultivates and transforms into fruitful gardens; it belongs to mankind, to the needy, and no one dare come and say: "To me belongs this forever, and all you are only guests, whom

ART and LITERATURE

I suffer so long as it pleases me, from whom I get rent and whom I drive away when it pleases me. What nature has given, and man has produced, and



RICHARD WAGNER (1813-1883)
—From a Plaque of Jules Scarceriaux

what the living stand in need of, is mine." Destroyed be this lie. To him who is in need belongs alone what satisfies, and of such superabundance is offered you by nature, by your own resources. Behold the houses within the towns and everything that satisfies and pleases mankind. All of you must wander past as if strangers; the mind and the arm of men have created it, and therefore it belongs to man, the living, and no single person dare come and say. "To me belongs everything that man has produced in his diligence. I alone have a right to it, and others may only enjoy as it pleases me when they pay me rent." Destroyed be this lie along with the other; for what man has produced belongs to man for his boundless enjoyment, as do all other things on the earth.

I will destroy the existing order of things which divides the one humanity into hostile peoples, into strong and weak, into privileged and outlawed, into rich and poor, for that makes unfortunate creatures of one and all. I will destroy the order of things which makes millions the slaves of the few, and those few the slaves of their own power, of their own wealth. I will destroy the order of things which severs enjoyment from labor, which turns labor into a burden and enjoyment into a vice, which makes one man miserable through want and another miserable through super-abundance. I will destroy this order of things which consumes the vigor of manhood in the service of the dead, of inert matter, which sustains one part of mankind in idleness or useless activity, which forces thousands to devote their sturdy youth to the indolent pursuit of soldiery, officialism, speculation and usury, and the maintenance of such like despicable conditions, while the other half, by excessive exertion and sacrifice of all enjoyment of life, bears the burden of the whole infamous structure. I will destroy even the very memory and trace of this delirious order of things which, pieced together out of force, falsehood, trouble, tears, sorrow, suffering, need, deceit hypocrisy and crime, is shut up in its own reeking atmosphere, and never receives a breath of pure air, to which no ray of pure joy ever penetrates.

Let everything be destroyed which oppresses you and makes you suffer, and from the ruins of the old let there arise a new undreamed-of happiness. Let no hatred, envy, jealousy, animosity, remain among you. You must recognize as brothers and sisters all who live; and free to will, free to act, free to enjoy, you shall know the worth of existence. Arise then, ye people of the earth, arise, ye sorrow-stricken and oppressed. Ye, also, who vainly struggle to clothe the inner desolation of your hearts, with the transient glory of riches, arise! Come and follow in my track with the joyful crowd, for I know not how to make distinction between those who follow me. There are but two peoples from henceforth on earth—the one which follows me, and the one which resists me. The one I will lead to happiness, but the other I will crush in my progress. For I am the REVOLUTION, I am the new creating force. I am the divinity which discerns all life, which embraces, revives and rewards.

Richard WAGNER

(It is not always remembered that Richard Wagner was an active propagandist of revolutionary thought and wrote on every pertinent subject of his days: communist essays, subversive views of the State, the importance of revolutionary activity—all claimed his attention. During the Saxon revolution of 1848 and 1849, he fought behind the barricades in street battles, and had to flee from Saxony for his life. He was deeply in sympathy with this period of European hope and disapointment — HIPPOLYTE HAVEL, in the "Revolutionary Almanac".)

Poets Of All Ages Sing Of Freedom

The Holy Trinity

Kings, priests and statesmen blast the human flower,
Even in its tender bud; their influence darts
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
Of desolate society...
Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
Inherits vice and misery, whence force
And falsehood hang even o'er the cradled babe,
Stifling with rudest grasp all natural good.

—Percy BYSSHE SHELLY

(From "Prometheus Unbound")

Every Law...

But this I know, that every law
That men have made for man,
Since first man took his brother's life,
And the sad world began,
But straws the wheat and saves the chaff
With a most evil fan.

—Oscar WILDE

Authority

Authority intoxicates,
And makes sots of magistrates;
The fumes of it invade the brain,
And make men giddy, proud and vain;
By this the fool commands the wise,
The noble with the base complies,
The sot assumes the rule of wit,
And cowards make the brave submit.

—Samuel BUTLER

They Who Fall

They never die who fall
In a great cause. The block may soak their gore,
Their heads may rotten in the sun, their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls.
But still their spirit walks around. Though years
Elapse and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thought
Which overpowers all others and turns the world
At last to freedom.

—George Gordon Noel BYRON

The State

Oh, child of superstition that calls itself the State,
Whence came thy right assumed to pose as potentate;
Art thou the creator of land and air, and sea,
Or a blown-up bubble that just affects to be?
Does nature bend to thee—like men thy laws obey,
Or art thou bravado, that seeks with fools to play?

O twin of monarchy that lives to rob and kill,
What deviltry here that prostitutes at will,
That keeps a robber gang in kingly rights enthroned
Then turns their robberies to legal acts condoned?
Is not the blood as pure of him who lives by toil
As he who waxes fat—on idleness and spoil?
Be gone, thou worthless churl that breed'st class of
Emblem of hate and fear, grinder of human bones,
From whence thou cam'st, go back, and his honor tell
That we can get along without thy aid from hell.

—L. S. OLIVER

Anarchist

As one upon a mission bent
I came—no sacerdotal cause
Save just to live by nature's laws,
And her direct arbitrament.
To hold in awe; to please myself,
And thus the world a service do;
To drive devoid the greed of pelf,
The product of my labor mine.
To crouch to none, to crave no sway,
But inward from the leagues of blue
To drink the gladness of the lovely day,
To dwell in peace, and bear no fruitless pain.

But I—who love the wood and the stream,
The winning voice of Day and Night,
And Man and Beast, and Art and Song;
And fain would wander in a dream
Of life and love, and seek delight
In gentle woods, forgetting wrong,
Musing o'er mellow sunsets lost
In contemplation's misty deep
I, who would ever seek to find
The mystery that lurks behind
Fair nature's apparition, must
Into this bitter warfare leap,
The unaccustomed steel upon me bind
And, facing Hell, give biting thrust for thrust.

—William WALLTON GORDAK

Anarchy

Men coveting, fighting and dying, and endless strife
In ignorant fever for power and pride and life:
The destined prey of the lusts of desires and disease.
Yet sighs the absurd unreasoning voice of our blood
For a world, alas!—and there is no bitter cold there,
No scorching heat, nor blossom with worm in the bud,
And babes do not die, nor blindness comes to the old there,
But the sun shines fair, and the rain falls soft, and the clime
Conspires with the soil for the loveliest fruits of thime,
And the young are strong, and the old go green to the grave
Without pain, and none is master and none is slave.
And music sounds from the boats, and garlands are woven
By maids at noon, and great calm statues are cloven
Out of the cliffs, by the shrines of sunnier gods,
Divine, magnificent spirit of man that will face
Invincible ever the battle with hopeless odds
And cannot but dream ere he falls of a time and a race,
Of a day when the world of men maturer grown
Will live without law in perfect wisdom and grace
Like the solar system hanging in awful space,
Its parts sustained serenly by love alone!

—J. C. SQUIRE

* * *

Acknowledgement

(All the poems appearing in this issue, excepting the one "The New Morning" written for MAN! by W. Francis Potter, are reprinted from "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" edited by Marcus Graham.)

"MAN!" AND CULTURE

Samuel Polinov

In January, 1940, MAN! will begin its eighth consecutive year of publication. This is a gratifying fact both for the editor of this publication and for those devoted comrades and friends who for seven years have stood by and have made its appearance possible.

Do you know what a seven year regular appearance means in the life of an anarchist publication? It means years of struggle, sacrifice and devoted idealism. We must bear in mind that a journal like MAN! does not sell its literary stock over the counter for material profit; it does not cater to the public for the sole purpose of increasing its circulation. The foremost aim of an anarchist journal—and of any sincere radical publication, for that matter—is to explain and spread the principles of an ideal philosophy. The carrying out of this aim depends entirely on the good will and devotion of a particular group of people who, themselves, are imbued with that ideal and are interested in carrying it to the masses as a cultural enlightenment.

So, in spite of all the thorny difficulties MAN! has had to encounter in its seven years of existence, it has survived and is ready to begin another year.

Let us examine briefly the aims for which MAN! has stood during these years, and what have been the cultural influences among the readers who seek enlightenment in the freedom of thought and expression.

As an anarchist publication, MAN! has propagated the doctrine of social and economic liberation for all humanity—particularly for that section which is forever being exploited and oppressed by the ruling forces of state authority. MAN! has endeavored to persuade this group that authority, regardless of its form, breeds violence, oppression, bitter hatred among nations and war. All these social evils emanating from state authority are as historical as they are factual. Mankind has suffered hunger, pestilence and brutal onslaughts in primeval times—as it is suffering them today. The history of the human race is one tragic page after another of struggles and privations. Whether mankind has lived under authority vested in a Caesar, a Hitler or a Stalin makes not a particle of difference. By order of constituted authority, men slaughter one another as brutally with modern arms of destruction as they were killing one another with spears and arrows. By order of dictatorial proclamation, men live in slavery today as they lived under feudal serfdom.

Yet, there has come about a change... even with all the brutal force raging throughout our modern world. Even with all the misery, privation and barbaric slaughter which the masses are enduring under the various forms of rulership, we have made great strides in the field of cultural enlightenment. We have the press, the libraries, the educational centers and numerous other channels from which the masses, though kept in political and economic bondage, can nevertheless acquire enough knowledge to enable them to differentiate between the social evils imposed upon them by man-made laws and those that are resulting from natural causes. To this contributes most effectively the far-reaching press which has developed in the course of human civilization and progress. The press today is an educational institution. Its profound influence upon the human mind is tremendous; its printed views and opinions are circulated throughout the civilized world where people are congregated.

But, in the same way that the whole social life is controlled and ruled by the powers that be, so is the human mind directed and determined by the capitalist or government owned press. In totalitarian states the government's newspapers and periodicals control the minds of the subjects to suit its own ends. In capitalist states the press likewise uses its malicious propaganda in a way to keep the subjected masses in complete darkness, making it impossible for them to realize or properly understand the basic causes of the pitiful conditions under which they are forced to live.

For example:

When Hitler, on September 1 of this year, opened his wanton aggression on Poland, the Nazi press came out with headlines screaming over the front pages that the Fatherland is forced to defend itself against the rapacious Poles who are aiming to destroy the New Reich. When Stalin sent his Red army marching on Finland, the Soviet press also used a similar technique. Headlines appeared in "Pravda" and other Soviet controlled papers with stories that the barbaric Finns have invaded Soviet territory and are threatening to crush the proletarian republic.

In the same manner the Italian press aroused the students in Rome to voice their protest and condemnation on Soviet Russia for invading Finland, ignoring conveniently Italy's unprovoked aggression of Ethiopia and Albania.

In a capitalist state the press is more or less free from governmental supervision, at least officially, but the state itself being an instrument of capital, the press serves both—capitalist society and its protector—the state. The powerful influence of the capitalist press dominates every avenue of the social and political life. If there is a massacre of workers in Chicago, the press will condone the atrocious act in its news items and editorial comments. If people suffer hunger and privation, the same press will cheer them up with a "turkey dinner" on Thanksgiving Day. In labor disputes the press will pour out all the literary venom on those "trouble makers" who make life miserable for the poor capitalists.

How the human mind is being polluted by capitalist propaganda can be noted in this bit of literary prattle which is quoted here from an article that appeared in one of the most widely circulated papers. It is very interesting, indeed. Let's read it:

(Note the caption: "The Real Threat: Not Bombs, But Ideas"....)

"In the progress of human civilization, the arts of living and the arts of killing—artcraft and warcraft—have always existed side by side. No history of any nation shows that a period of peace without domestic or foreign wars ever existed for more than 300 years. This seems to derive from the fact that man is both a fighting and peaceful animal. In him the fighting instinct and the instinct for peaceful living—which I call the carnivorous and the herbivorous instincts—are strangely mixed.

"This is not to imply a state of human imperfection; it may be questioned whether the kind of civilization wherein man is thoroughly tamed and domesticated that there is no more fight left in him would be worth having at all. Life is, or should be, accompanied by struggle, or else the racial fiber degenerates, which happens within the amazingly short period of a few generations in a well-provided family".—(New York "Times", Nov. 12, 1939).

What the "paid" author seems to imply is that (1) man is possessed of a fighting instinct, hence he biologically must have his war (there are no other causes, according to him...) and (2) that life should be an eternal struggle, if the human race is not to degenerate.

In other words, the stage is here set for the mislead masses to be prepared for any eventuality. Should the rulers one fine morning issue a proclamation that the country is at war on the side of England and France, we are to accept it as not only biologically inevitable but even essential. On the other hand, should we maintain our peace we are to be well satisfied with the struggle for existence and not indulge in flirting with ideologies.

But here is where MAN! comes in... The idea of publishing a journal of this type is to bring cultural enlightenment in its reality: to educate the misguided masses how to read and think freely; to inform the oppressed and underprivileged how they are being exploited both physically and mentally. In a word, to deliver them a message that would unveil all the horrors and pitfalls in which they are being held by a corrupted and treacherous social autocracy.

It is true that we, too, profess a specific ideology in carrying out our message. It is true that our cultural enlightenment is also being circulated to coincide with our own social philosophy. We should be false in our pretentions were we to deny this. But there is this difference: while the propaganda circulated by the government controlled press is aimed at keeping the masses in servitude to their ruling masters; while the capitalist press perverts the human mind for its own selfish interest, MAN!—and that may apply to all anarchist publications—in discussing the various problems affecting our social organism, or in furthering the thought and ideals of anarchism has no specific motive of its own. In advocating a social order based on freedom and cooperation, it can expect no material gains whatever—save, perhaps, a moral and spiritual gratification.

The mere fact that an organ of this caliber must depend on voluntary contributions for its existence sufficiently proves its ideal purpose. The mere fact that MAN! has been, and still is, persecuted by the agents of the capitalist order definitely upholds the libertarian principles it is professing.

The year 1940 opens a new page in the history of MAN! It will no doubt encounter new struggles and new hardships in its cultural endeavor. Let us hope, then, that it will continue to live up to its full "measurements" as it has done in the past. MAN! has no regrets and no apologies to offer for the seven year continued struggle. What it propagated in the good or criticized in the bad was done in full consciousness for a higher idealism. Let this idealism penetrate in the minds of the reading masses—and we shall then realize a cultural upbuilding that will help usher in a better and saner social order.

"MAN!" is on Sale at:

Los Angeles:
News stand, Fifth and Main Street.
San Francisco:
Bookstore, 658 Broadway
MacDonald's Book Store, 65 Sixth Street.
Milwaukee:
Hampel's Book Store, 708 W. Wisconsin Avenue.
New York City:
Biderman's Book Shop, 184 Second Avenue.
Bunn, N .W. Corner of 3rd Avenue and E. 14th Street.
Newstand at S. E. corner of 14th St. and 4th Ave.
News stand at S. E. corner of 14th St. and 4th Ave.
News stand at S. W. corner of 42nd St. and 5th Ave.

A Terrible Figure

According to "SIA" in Paris the nuber of persons killed by the fascists in Spain since February already amounts to 100,000—which figure is verified by the Spanish authorities themselves. This statement was made by Mr. Ernest Brown at a congress in London. Comrade Louzon, the correspondent of "SIA", comments:

"These figures are affirmed by all private informations received by the refugees. Letters are now coming from Spain and there is hardly one of them, which does not inform the addressee of the execution of one ore more of his close relatives.

Last Sunday the comrade of the Spanish "SIA", with whom we are in connection, reported us in a visit we made to a working camp in the Alps that he recently received a letter in which he was informed that his father and his mother—two quite old people—and his brother had been executed. Every day, he said, dozens of such letters arrive to the camp. The moment the mail is distributed there is a great silence, the men hide themselves and weep."

Argentina Helps Franco

The "Comité pro presos y deportados" of the FORA of Argentine has informed us that the revolutionary worker Rodriguez Moreno recently was taken on board a ship and deported to Spain.

Argentina not only closes her ports to the Spanish refugees, but even sends the few revolutionary Spanish militants, who have come to Argentine on a private route, back to the Spain of Franco, one after the other.

This policy must call all revolutionary workers of the world to protest! (IWMA Press Service)

A Letter From Australia

Dear Comrade:—Human nature does not change. The painful experience of the last wholesale butchery has been lost. Another flock of sheep are being prepared. Humans have lost their reason, and are tamely submitting to command, marching to death; man is a muff by nature, and has every appearance of remaining a muff. The dawning of Liberty, which was so promising, when I was young has departed. I was goaled several times for advocating reason, which is anarchism. It seems so unreasonable that humans will kill those they have not known. The rulers rule because the humans will have rule. "Reason could not be a wolf; if Romans were not Sheep." The ruled are to blame, they continue to uphold power, many know the baneful effect, but conclude that life is short and it is wise to shout with the mob. Humans may disappear off the planet without arriving at the age of reason. Destruction is the outcome of organized violence called authority. The proletariat submits willingly to turn imbecile and brute. Obeying—away he goes to kill or be killed. The facts speak for themselves. The world is full of fools. My mark is to attack the hocus-pocus called God, and its comrade, authority. After all, authority comes from God. Anarchism exposes the swindle which the swarm of vermin fatten on. Plato wrote that the senate was corrupt; the politicians were bribed; the people were fools. The few thought, but the many never.

I am 96. My days are done. I have lived my life. I have kept the flag of anarchism flying.

Long live Anarchy!

J. W. FLEMING

* * *

The unproductive State apparatus weighs as a parasite upon economy, lives from its blood and lowers the producers' standard of living.

—LUDECKE

Communications

Los Angeles, Calif.—The affair held here on December 3, 1939 in aid of Political Prisoners had a total income of $199.45 and an expenditure of $94.45, leaving a total of $105.00 net profit which was equally divided as follows:

Anarchist Committee for Political Victims of Italy; Committee for the children of arrested comrades; Anarchist Committee for Political Victims, Marseille; International Anarchist Committee, Belgium; Committee for Political Victims of Spain; Committee for Political Victims of Russia, and the arrested comrades in Canada.

We hereby express our appreciation to all those who have shown their solidaric spirit in making the affair a moral as well as material success.

The Committee

* * *

The Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Russian Aid Fund for Political Prisoners, 2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill., asks us to announce the immediate appearance of "The Guillotine at Work" (Twenty Years of Terror In Russia—Data and Documents), over 500 pages by G. P. Maximoff. Price $3.50 per copy.

Financial Statement

INCOME: Monroe Bartlett, R. Conti, Seattle newspaper sales $3.00; Radical Library, Clyde Lytle, John Wright, Joe Oppositti $2.00; San Francisco newspaper sales $1.29; John Graham, L. Noli, Paolini, Jules Scarceriaux, W. S. Griffin, E. Roil, D. Morillos, P. Chouso, Wm. J. Fleming (Australia), R. F. Wilson, B. Lara, $1.00; Wm. Miles 60c; V. Hierro, B. Frank, Harry Chrisman 50c. TOTAL $31.89.

TOTAL INCOME	$31.89
Balance on Hand	94.64
EXPENDITURES	110.01
BALANCE ON HAND	$16.52

(*)—Total balance given in last issue was $96.64 whereas it should have been given as $94.64.

Received in stamps: W. S. Allen 50c; D. Foucher 25c.

A GIFT FOR YOUR FRIENDS:

We have on hand sets of MAN! published in Los Angeles since August 1937 up till January 1940. We will mail these postpaid to any address for $2.